

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 2115

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UR, US

SUBJECT: SENATOR BROOKE'S FEB 10 MEETING WITH PONOMAREV;

U.S.- SOVIET RELATIONS, ANGOLA, TRADE/EMIGRATION

REF: MOSCOW 1987

1. SUMMARY. DURING TWO HOUR MEETING WITH SENATOR BROOKE FEB 10, PONOMAREV BRIEFLY DISCUSSED U.S. - SOVIET RELATIONS AND ANGOLA, THEN GAVE LENGTH EXPOSITION OF OFFICIAL SOVIET VIEW OF SOVIET JEWRY ISSUE. THE ESSENCE OF HIS MESSAGE: THERE IS NO JEWISH EMIGRATION PROBLEM IN THE USSR, AND IT IS UP TO THE U.S. TO REPEAL THE JACKSON-VANIK AMENDMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. WE UNDERSTAND THAT JUST PRIOR TO DEPARTING WASHINGTON FOR THE USSR SENATOR BROOKE LUNCED PRIVATELY WITH AMBASSADOR DOBRYNIN AND MENTIONED THAT HE WOULD APPRECIATE SEEING PONOMAREV IN MOSCOW. ACCORDING TO FEDOSEYEV OF THE MFA'S USA DIVISION, DOBRYNIN'S TELEGRAM WAS RECEIVED BY THE MFA FEB 9 BUT A MEETING WITH PONOMAREV COULD NOT BE CONFIRMED UNTIL LATE IN THE AFTERNOON OF

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FEB 10. AFTER SEVERAL CHANGES IN TIME, THE MEETING TOOK

PLACE FEB 10, FROM 7:30 P.. TO 9:30 P.M. IN THE KREMLIN
OFFICE OF CHAIRMAN OF THE COUNCIL OF NATIONALITIES RUBEN.
THE SOVIET SIDE CONSISTED OF PONOMAREV AND RUBEN. SENATOR
BROOKE WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SENATE STAFFER DAVID ROSSITER
AND EMBOFF.

3. PONOMAREV SAID HE WOULD BE GLAD TO DISCUSS ANY
QUESTION OF INTEREST TO THE SENATOR. WHEN SENATOR
BROOKE THEN RAISED ANGOLA, PONOMAREV SMILED AND SAID HE
WAS PREPARED TO TALK ABOUT ANGOLA BUT FIRST WOULD LIKE
TO SAY A WORD ABOUT SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS. HE SAID
THE SOVIET SIDE HAD FOUND THE THREE PARLIAMENTARY
EXCHANGES (PONOMAREV IN THE U.S., HUMPHREY/SCOTT AND
ALBERT IN THE USSR) MOST USEFUL AND BELIEVED CONTACTS
BETWEEN LEGISLATIVE BODIES OF THE TWO COUNTRIES SHOULD
BE DEVELOPED FURTHER. HE HOPED THE TWO AMERICAN DELE-
GATIONS HAD PERCEIVED "THE MAIN THING" ABOUT THE USSR:
NAMELY, "WE WANT PEACE IN ORDER TO BUILD OUR SYSTEM."
AND WE WANT NORMAL, GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. THE
ESSENCE OF OUR LINE IS WHAT YOU AMERICANS CALL
"DETENTE", WHAT WE CALL "RELAXATION OF INTERNATIONAL
TENSION."

4. PONOMAREV THEN DISCUSSED ANGOLA ALONG THE LINES OF
ARBATOV'S PRESENTATION TO BROOKE FEB 9 (REFTEL). THE
USSR HAD LONG SUPPORTED THE MPLA AND WAS NOT AIDING A
SOVEREIGN NATION UNDER ATTACK BY SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES.
THIS ARMED ATTACK, PONOMAREV STRESSED, WAS "MONSTROUS
INTERVENTION" WHICH THE U.S. SEEMED TO SUPPORT. KISSINGER
HAD SEVERAL TIMES PUBLICLY CRITICIZED THE USSR REGARDING
ANGOLA; THERE WAS ABSOLUTELY NO BASIS FOR THIS. NO
SOVIET TROOPS WERE IN ANGOLA. WE SEEK NOTHING THERE,
NO BASES, NO "EXPANSION." WHY WERE CUBAN FORCES INTRO-
DUCED? AFTER TROOPS FROM SOUTH AFRICA AND ZAIRE INVADED,
ANGOLA HAD THE RIGHT TO ASK FOR HELP.

5. "WE ARE SATISFIED WITH THE DECISION OF CONGRESS TO
ALLOW NO MORE MONEY FOR ANGOLA," PONOMAREV CONTINUED.
WE LISTENED TO THE STATEMENTS IN THE SENATE AND HOUSE
ABOUT NO U.S. INTERFERENCE. THE SENATOR COMMENTED THAT
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HE WAS A CO-SPONSOR OF THE SENATE BILL, BUT OPPOSED THE
PRESENCE IN ANGOLA OF CUBAN AS WELL AS SOUTH AFRICAN
FORCES.

6. PONOMAREV THEN RAISED THE TRADE/EMIGRATION ISSUE.
"WHAT ABOUT JACKSON/VANIK," HE ASKED, "ARE YOU GOING TO
REPEAL IT?" WHEN THE SENATOR SAID HE THOUGHT NOT
BECAUSE OF THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO THE PRINCIPLE OF

FREE EMIGRATION, PONOMAREV ATTEMPTED TO DEMONSTRATE THROUGH RECITATION OF VARIOUS FACTS AND FIGURES THAT THERE WAS NO JEWISH EMIGRATION PROBLEM. FOR EXAMPLE:

--SOVIET AUTHORITIES HAVE RECEIVED SOME 2,000 REQUESTS FROM SOVIET JEWISH EMIGRANTS WHO PLEAD FOR PERMISSION TO RETURN TO THE USSR;

--ONLY 1.6 PERCENT OF ALL WHO APPLY FOR EXIT DOCUMENTS ARE REFUSED, ONLY ON SECURITY GROUNDS;

--APPLICANTS DO NOT NEED THE PERMISSION OF THEIR PARENTS, THE APPLICATION PROCEDURE WAS RECENTLY SIMPLIFIED, AS A RULE A DEFINITE "YES" OR "NO" IS PROVIDED IN WRITING IN ONE MONTH FROM SUBMISSION OF THE APPLICATION, AND REFUSALS CAN BE APPEALED;

--THE EMIGRATION RATE DECLINED BECAUSE MOST OF THE JEWS WANTING TO LEAVE HAVE NOW GONE, AND BECAUSE OF WIDER KNOWLEDGE AMONG SOVIET JEWS OF DIFFICULT LIVING CONDITIONS IN ISRAEL AND OTHER COUNTRIES.

7. WE ARE GETTING ALONG PRETTY WELL WITHOUT MFN AND U.S. CREDITS, PONOMAREV CONTINUED. THIS SITUATION IS HARMFUL FOR POLITICAL REASONS: FIRST, IT MARKS DISCRIMINATION AGAINST A GREAT POWER; SECOND, IT INVOLVES INTERFERENCE IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS. PONOMAREV REACTED SHARPLY TO THE SENATOR'S SUGGESTION THAT A DELEGATION OR COMMISSION FROM THE U.S. COME TO THE USSR TO STUDY THE EMIGRATION PROBLEM THOROUGHLY AND CLARIFY CONFLICTING VERSIONS OF THE EXISTING SITUATION.

WE ALREADY PUT ALL OF OUR CARDS ON THE TABLE FOR THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SENATORS AND THE CONGRESSMEN, HE SAID. "YOUR PROPOSAL IS NOT ACCEPTABLE. WE ARE NOT A COLONY, WE ARE A SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT." THE SENATOR NOTED HE WAS MERELY GROPING FOR A WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT IMPASSE, AND ONE APPROACH SEEMED TO BE TO TRY TO RECONCILE WIDELY DIVERGENT VERSIONS OF THE FACTS. HE CERTAINLY INTENDED NO DISRESPECT TOWARD SOVIET SOVEREIGNTY. THE FATE OF THE WORLD DEPENDED UPON U.S. -SOVIET RELATIONS, AND WAYS MUST BE FOUND TO RESOLVE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS IN A SPIRIT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. PONOMAREV AGREED, SAYING THAT CONTINUED PARLIAMENTARY EXCHANGES OFFERED ONE WAY TO ACCOMPLISH THIS.

8. COMMENT. PONOMAREV APPEARED TO BE IN EXCELLENT HEALTH AND SPOKE LUCIDLY AND COGENTLY THROUGHOUT THE

CONVERSATION.

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